2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

668
177
[533
539]

we	*rṭhi*	*irasi·ra*	
a	*tsiksu*	*wétatu·ta*	*hi i*
and	{mind / spirit	now I do	

The place whence you come,
Now I am longing for.

The place whence you come,
Now I am ever mindful of.

When he awoke from the trance he told the people what he had seen. Thus, he too became a prophet and possessed of the same power as Sitting-Bull".[1]

Frank White was a Kitkahaxki[x]. When he returned home to the Pawnee in the fall of 1891 he began to teach the doctrine and songs to friends of his in the South Bands. He told people, "The kingdom is coming soon now, so the people must prepare. This that I have is called ghost dancing. You must stop working because when the kingdom comes you won't take plows or things like that along. That's not ours."

668
177
792
794

When Frank White instituted regular dances, these were among the South Bands; the Ṣkiri would come over and join in under his leadership. The first songs were Arapaho and Wichita songs and the few songs that White had already developed for himself. White taught songs to several singers who assisted him in leading the dancing. He organized the group of seven leaders who wore crow feathers. The dancing took place in the open, east of a tipi in which White and his co-leaders gathered. At first the crowds which gathered were small, but many of them shook as the spirits took possession of them and fell. White had great power over them, and when his voice grew louder dancers would fall under the spell. White would talk to the people and tell them his experiences and how when they fell they would see the Messiah and all the dead people, and how this was a promise of the coming change.

[152
786]

Those who first participated told others, and the excitement grew. Many were converted rapidly, and the crowds which came to dance under White's leadership grew larger. The arrangements gradually altered to take care of the crowds. White and his singers had their special tipi. Two of his leaders gathered paint among the people and took this into the sacred tipi. Here all the dancers who wished to have face paintings for the dance would go. Each one gave White presents in return for a face painting or a feather orna-

668
177
[792]
796
794
[302]

[1] Murie, Societies, p. 632—633.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

that tribe were present among the Pawnee when the Skiri Brotherhoods were conceived; the Wichita seem to have brought to the Pawnee the change to a Ghost Dance every six weeks for four nights, continuing the last night until the dawn of the fifth day. This they had adopted in accordance with the change among the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Caddo and Wichita, after the message from the Messiah was received. At the same time, a conflict of doctrine over the teachings of White, which culminated in a new conception of the significance of the Ghost Dance brought directly from the major Arapaho prophets by Pawnee delegations, seems to have contributed to the release of the Pawnee Ghost Dance from White's exclusive control. This doctrinal change occurred before Frank White's death in 1893.

In the early days after the dancing for the day was over, the people as a whole broke apart and went home, or went to their own tipis. But White, his seven co-leaders, and some of the chiefs would reenter the leading tipi. There they were served food. Before eating, a simple corn offering was made; corn was offered to Tirawahat[a] and placed on the ground; then motions of blessing were made with the horn spoon over the altar objects.

After this feast, someone would begin to talk about his trance experiences. He would tell what he saw, and then sing songs which he had learned in his trance. In this way songs were added to the repertoire, and gradually the Wichita and Arapaho songs became only a minor phase (save for the closing song) of the Pawnee Ghost Dance songs.

CONFLICT OF DOCTRINE; REORGANIZATION OF CEREMONY

According to the conception of the Ghost Dance which Frank White brought among the Pawnee, Frank White himself was the sole authentic prophet of the dance and doctrine, and it was necessary for all sanctions to come through Frank White as intermediary. Those who had visions in trances reported the content and character to White, and in terms of his interpretation and permission made use of the vision. Feathers to wear in the hair, paints for the face, special symbolisms of dress, and the like, were possible only with White's approval. If a dancer wished to use a face painting, in accordance with his trance experiences, he had first to go to White and pay him for the privilege, or in any case, to offer him gifts. Individuals who had learned about the Ghost Dance in visions, and felt authorized to put on a dance, could do so only after conferring with White. He would teach the visionary

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

668 796 792 what to do, and received compensation for his instruction. Ordinarily his instruction seems to have amounted to interpretation, to a suggestion that the visionary do as all had seen White himself do, with some explanation of the details. White would also counsel the visionary to tell the people in general what he had seen and learned. But even in such a case, according to reports, when a dance was put on by another, White's seven crow singers had to be invited to lead the singing and dancing, whether it was held among the Skiri or South Bands.

Gifts and money were lavished upon White: a small face painting often earned him five dollars: feathers and sanctions of various kinds brought him other money. Many people were jealous, or resented White's attitude, called him a liar and began to disbelieve him and say he was deceiving the people.

At the same time, White's conduct was not exemplary. It must be remembered that priests, chiefs, medicine men, and in fact all individuals who had claims to sacred office or inspiration in connection with old Pawnee ways of life, lived up to accepted Pawnee ethical standards of conduct.

As one informant describes White's behavior: "All this time [276] White drank peyote, which made him wise. At the same time he used to drink whiskey. Whiskey and peyote do not mix, they cannot go together. That's what killed him.

"One time they were going to have a doctor dance north of town and when they were ready to begin, someone said, 'we can't start until the Messiah comes' – they considered White a great prophet, and called him Father and Messiah. Finally they saw him coming, hardly able to walk, supported on each side by a man holding his arm. Someone said, 'why, he's drunk,' but they whispered around, 'we can't say anything about it anyhow, because he's the Messiah.' They used to lavish gifts upon him, and finally they gave him the prettiest girl in the tribe to marry."

It was not long before revolt against White and his tactics took definite form. This reaction is in part to be explained by White's misbehavior, in part by jealousy of the way in which he was getting rich, and in part also by a sincere desire on the part of some to get more out of the dancing in a religious sense.

668 177 [607] According to Joseph Carrion, White and he had been friends for a long time; in fact Frank White at one time married Joe's sister-in-law, which in terms of Pawnee kinship put them on strong grounds of familiarity. Joe Carrion danced along with Frank White for almost a year. In Joe's own words, "Frank White told me that I was going where I could find out something for myself

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

stops at the north facing south; the rest of the circle dance through an equivalent part of the circuit.

3. The leader repeats the song, while the whole circle of dancers moves through another quadrant, the leader finishing at the east, facing west.

4. A third quadrant is similarly completed with the leader at the south facing north.

5. The fourth quadrant is completed when the leader is once more in his original position at the west facing east.

6. All now step back a few paces, widening the circle, and as they sing the circle closes in again. Throughout this singing the leader maintains his orientation at the west, and each dancer his or her relative position in the circle. Now, as the song finishes with the circle narrowed to its original dimensions, all break their handclasps, and shake off the blankets they wear, and the dance is over. The closing in of the circle during this last song signifies the coming together of the people, and the shaking out of the blankets expresses their desire to shake off them the bad ways, the new ways, the white man's ways.

The closing song is the Arapaho song as given by Mooney[1].

FIRST FORMS OF THE SKIRI GHOST DANCE

As we have seen, Frank White brought the Ghost Dance to the South Bands primarily, being himself a Kitkahaxki[2]. When a Skiri wished to hold a dance among the Skiri proper, he was in the same position as any individual among the South Bands who felt he had the right to do so. The Skiri had to get sanction from White, and to invite White and his leaders to come over to initiate and lead the dancing.

After the visit of the five Pawnee to Sitting-Bull, the Arapaho, a change came over the Pawnee attitude toward the general Ghost Dance doctrine. The whole religious movement was liberated from the domination of White. An individual's own conscience and experience was the individual's guide to what he could and could not do, to what sanctions he had obtained supernaturally. It became unnecessary to pay White for rights, and the only checks upon the number of prophets who began to appear among the Pawnee with messages from the deceased were the natural ones: the force of character and the temperament of the claimant; the

[1] Mooney, pp. 1011—1012, no. 73. Note that this song was used as the closing song after the return of the delegation of Southern Arapaho and Cheyenne in the fall of 1891.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

792 668 177

reputation and esteem in which he or she was held by the tribespeople, the abilities of the prophet as a leader, hypnotizer, organizer; and the experiences which were undergone by the layman under the leadership and influence of the prophet.

Those who are remembered as the chief visionaries of the period in which the Ghost-Dance was taken up by the Skiri are Mrs. Washington, Goodeagle and Mrs. Goodeagle, and Mrs. Cover. There were others, of course. Chiefly, Mrs. Washington was responsible for the inauguration of independent Skiri Ghost-Dances. She had many trance-visions, and often told very complex stories of the images and events which took place in them, so complex in fact that there were Pawnee who doubted her, partly because of their own vision experiences, which seemed to them different in kind (psychologically); partly because of jealousy of the constantly increasing part she was playing in the tribal developments.

[787]

668 792 787

Carrion speaks of Mrs. Washington as a fraud. He says that she made up a lot of stuff, and was a false prophet trying to win the people's worship. His reasons for the attitude are interesting. He claims that in a vision (as he has experienced such) you see merely one simple image or thing, not a complex array; and that if you add to what you see, that is wrong. He contends that Mrs. Washington had trance-vision after trance-vision, and kept on learning details of performances in her visions, like a serial story. This is impossible, he says, because going back to those who give you things in visions and asking for more, is imposing on them; and it is for such conduct that people lose their lives.

In truth, Carrion's attitude indicates a temperamental difference between him and Mrs. Washington, as well as difference in the quality of his imagination. Carrion was not subject to trances often, Mrs. Washington was; his mind did not experience much detail in the few cases in which he had visions, while Mrs. Washington did. Obviously, the quality of the individual's mind will appear in the content and character of his visions as well as in his waking life, which is well illustrated by the vision experience of Mark Evarts in relation to the Ghost Dance, given below; Mark Evarts is a man whose mind is rich in content. But the native concept of the vision is more or less fixed and absolute, not one which accepts the relativity of the vision to the subject; hence, in terms of one visionary's experiences, those of another may often seem fraudulent.

184 668 796

The early independent Ghost Dances of the Skiri were carried out in terms of the usual forms and patterns of White's South Band Ghost Dancing. There was the same form of the circle, the same orientation of the official or sacred tent, and the same pattern of

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

668 796 533 that a suggestion of the Wichita was in part responsible for Mrs. Washington's determination to organize the Ghost-Dancing with regular singers while the Wichita were present.

Frank White died in 1893, and he is known to have been alive at the time Mrs. Washington inaugurated these developments, which places the time of the first Seven Eagle Brothers as sometime in late 1892 or early 1893.

668 792 796 787 As one informant describes Mrs. Washington's activities: "When they used to dance among the South Bands, all would go there, and while the dancing went on, old Mrs. Washington fell in a trance. She found out something about the Seven Brothers, but not everything right away. Afterwards, every time she fell she would see something about the Seven Brothers.[1] The spirit told her to go ahead and put up the Seven Brothers. She used to have her own cattle. Once when they came home from the dancing, she was told that when she got home she should put up the Seven Brothers at a dance. So she killed her own beef, and put up the dance, and they told her how to go, everything, the smoke and all."

Mrs. Washington put up a special feast. She asked the chiefs and these seven men to be present, as well as others. Each of the seven sat on the south side with the eagle feather given him by Knifechief stuck into the ground before him. Along the north side were congregated the "crow" people, including those who played as "crows" in the hand games, as well as the men who later were organized into the Seven Crows; while along the south side the "eagle" people sat. As yet, however, there was no "crow" organization; the "crows" were merely an amorphous group who played the hand game together, and who had this affiliation because of Ghost Dance experiences.

Mrs. Washington stood at the doorway of the tipi. Up to this time she had been learning. Now she spoke. "Now, I want to tell you what I have in mind. We are going to have a Ghost Dance. A spirit told me to do it. I am going to do it today. These Seven Brothers are going to take the lead for us, and we're going to call them Fathers. Now I want you chiefs to decide when we should begin the dance."

527 574 Then the chiefs talked together and decided and one announced, "Let us move the camp and all come together on the third day." This inaugural feast was not a ceremonial affair. After the decision of the chiefs was announced all those present partook of the feast provided by Mrs. Washington; this concluded the occasion

[114]

[1] This "serial story" form of learning in visions is the sort of thing about Mrs. Washington's claims that Carrion resented; see above.

668 796 782 wise around the sacred dance ground (not the space around which the people are gathered) which was now vacant, and came to the west of it where he stopped facing east. At this point his back was to the back of the Seven seated Brothers. Here he offered corn upward to heaven, then bent down and pushed some off the spoon onto the ground, then turned to the west to which he offered the spoon of corn slantwise, then pushed some more off onto the ground, and finally placed the rest on the ground as an offering to the earth. (Second phase; first mode[1]) He then put the spoon on the ground beside him, and touching and pressing the corn into the earth, made three sets of motions with his hands and arms: four upward to heaven, four westward, and four to the earth. (Self-blessing; return of spoon[1]) Then he picked up the spoon and went through the motions of the final self-blessing with it, pressing his feet firmly to the ground. With the spoon he turned and reentered the circle of people between the First Brother (who is at the south end of the row of seven seated brothers) and those at his left, walked through a half circuit clockwise until he faced the chiefs sitting at the west, and returned the spoon to the chief who had given it to him. All the people say. "Nawa."

668 796 [264 554] The food was then served. A number of men were selected to do the serving, some serving the chiefs, others the Seven Brothers, and still others the people in general. The chiefs must be served first, and then the Seven Brothers, and then the public at large.

After all had eaten the dishes were put away. The people might come back and dance on the dance-ground until the sun had fully set. They stopped finally at full sundown. Many of the people did not camp on the grounds and had to go home for the night. Others had to look out for their horses.

In this way the people danced at the encampment for four days, and the last day they continued dancing all night. As individuals had trance visions, they would begin to wear different feathers and paints according to what they saw; and at later Ghost Dances would bring out these Ghost Dance things and use them.

[513] After the entire dance was over, the people generally slept a full day. Later they might decide to hold a hand game. In these early Ghost Dance times among the Skiri, a hand game could only be held after a full Ghost Dance had been carried out. Later hand games were interspersed in the Ghost Dancing.

Such were the ceremonial forms of the first Ghost Dancing among the Skiri proper.

792 668 796 787 Although Mrs. Washington was in this way responsible for the first organization of the Seven Brothers, Mrs. Goodeagle came to

2: Lesser E-4,5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

be known as the Mother of the Seven Brothers. This was because she clothed them according to directions which she received in a Ghost Dance vision.

Mrs. Goodeagle saw two eagles in her vision, a white one and a black one. The black eagle did not speak to her. The white eagle told her to put up a feast and dress the Seven Brothers. She did so. She gave each of the seven a special shirt, and a white sheet to wear. At the back of the head on the sheet two black ribbons were stitched, so that they hung down for about two feet in the back. All the seven were dressed alike.

Then later someone else fell into a trance and told afterward that Mrs. Goodeagle was the Mother of the Seven Brothers, and that the people must call her that. So all the Skiri considered her the Mother of the Seven Brothers.

PERSONAL EXPERIENCES OF MARK EVARTS

In 1897 or 1898, Mark Evarts came home.[1] He had been away a number of years, first at the Carlisle school, and then working as a harness maker in Harrisburg, Philadelphia and Newark. When he got to Oklahoma, the ghost dancing had been flourishing both among the South Bands and among the Skiri. The organization of the Seven Brothers among the Skiri was already existent. Mark was not unacquainted with the Ghost Dance. He had heard about it at the time it began to spread among the tribes. He had made a brief visit home at the height of the excitement. But the rest of his story after his arrival in Oklahoma is best told in Mark's own words:

"I told them I did not believe it. I said, 'You can't make me believe it.' Because I was educated and because the white man taught me that the Indians were superstitious. But the white man didn't look at himself and see how superstitious he was.

"One day the Pawnee were all going up to the Oto. After a lot of them had gone, a fellow named Sam Thomson said to me, 'Mark, let's go up to where the Oto are camped now.' We went north to a place about seven miles south of Red Rock. We got there in the evening. We looked into the timber, and there on the other side of the creek we saw the smoke from the encampment. We didn't know where to eat and spend the night, but we found two old ladies in one tipi and we went in there. We asked them if we could sleep there, and stay around during the camping. While I was there I heard someone say, 'this tipi is a special hand

[1] Mark had been home on a visit in 1893.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

243 787 any taboos. He was always fed first before the others at every meal so that his mood would remain pleasant. He lived and moved in the encampment of the chief who was leading the hunt during that season.

• [592] In the previous ceremony, when the seeds of the sacred corn had been distributed to the ministers of the various bundles for planting, the visionary of that ceremony had been constituted a holy man for the well-being of the corn crop. He also had to remain wrapped in his buffalo robe all summer and to observe similar taboos until the harvest was in. Presumably, as he remained wrapped in his robe, he was impersonating the ear of corn itself in its husk.

In the final stages of the young corn ceremony, the priest went through the village, praising the donor of the cowskin and buffalo-hair belt in which they dressed the young Mother Corn, referring to the robe as the symbolic wrapper into which a germ of life could be thrust and the buffalo-hair rope as the string.

The ceremony of the Young Mother Corn was concluded with a feast in which all who had participated shared in the meat of the buffalo that the visionary had consecrated on the previous winter hunt. His wife usually added a donation of boiled corn to round out the banquet.

243 Until this ceremony was completed, no woman could go into her field and begin to weed and cultivate it. Now the women all went into their fields carrying their hoes. First they would pull out the weeds one by one from the corn hills by hand and then pile up the earth around the young growing plants. The corn was hilled up so high around the plant that the leaves barely stuck out at the top; they were compared with an earth lodge with the smoke issuing out of the smokehole in the roof.

It was early morning and the dew had fallen, and as the women worked around and around the corn hills their bodies would get soaking wet. After they had hilled up the earth around the plants, the women would kneel close to the hill and pat it all around with their hands to make it smooth and even. The woman's left side, as well as her face and hands, would become covered with mud. To mention this fact to a woman on her way home from the fields would be the height of pre-
[515] sumption. On the way home everyone took a swim in Beaver Creek and washed off their hoes. Again the young women splashed with their feet on the surface of the water and tried to make as loud a report as possible by slapping the surface of the water with their hands. The old man again sat up on his earth lodge and addressed the community at large. He reminded everyone that the women were now "disfiguring themselves" for him, getting all muddy, and that while their hoes were still full of mud, all of them would be eating the food that the women
[606] had raised. Some of the women went in groups to cultivate the previously planted fields of their new daughters-in-law, singing while they worked

14: Weltfish E-4,5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Pipe trade relations. As the east party would have a prior advantage, he was leaving it open for Man Chief to take it for his own group. "All right," said Man Chief, "I'll take a group around east," and Curly Chief of the Little-Earth-Lodge Band said, "I'll go with him." White Eagle then agreed to take a group by way of the west and Many Trophies of the Man-Going-Downstream Band agreed to go with him. 224* 202

Having decided, the different chiefs motioned to their hunters waiting lined up below. In each case the individual hunters were free to join either party as they wished. The various hand motions made by the chiefs graphically indicated their plans. As each chief motioned, his brave went down to the hunters and again told them what the motions were about. The extra pack horses were hobbled right there and the boys taking care of them were nearby.

The next step was a ritual, performed by a holy man known as a "hand-waver," named for the manner in which he made his vow. White Eagle chose He-Sees-the-Sky because he had consecrated five or six buffalo to the sacred bundle ceremonies in the past and in general seemed to be lucky in whatever he did. He had established "credit" with the supernatural powers. Now he knelt down on both knees facing toward the hill with his back to the lineup of hunters. One of the men from the line was selected by White Eagle to keep watch on the holy man and signal them immediately when he was through. The watcher stood about ten feet back, leading his horse while the prophet was kneeling, settling himself comfortably with his open hands resting on his thighs. Now he extended his right arm and as he was moving it outward he said, "This time of year I sacrificed a whole white eagle and that is what is going to lead you (west)." Then he made a similar motion with his left hand and mentioned a wildcat hide and a whole buffalo and the fact that this would lead those going east. Then he repeated each direction with an Otter and Buffalo (west), and a young spotted deer and buffalo (east). The watcher, seeing the holy man's hands back in his lap and his head down, signaled that that was all and as soon as he turned around, the line formed into two parties, the watcher coming down to join them. The holy man started for home, being required to remain as quiet as possible so that nothing should disturb the good fortune of the hunters, for he would be blamed for any accidents that occurred. White Eagle or one of the successful hunters would see that he got half a buffalo for his service. The hunters rode to the chase from both sides of the hill so that the herd was surrounded and all were killed. Then they butchered and distributed the meat according to who had actually killed the animal and who had assisted with the butchering. 224* 788 792 • [778] 224* 792 224*

As soon as they were through butchering, they packed their horses and waited until they had a group of two of three so that they could travel together for protection from attack. The horses were lightly 224* 492

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Every available hunter would get a horse if he could and leave the line of march to go to the hunting grounds. Even if the horse were not fast, there were enough buffalo for everyone to hunt. In order to free as many horses as possible, the people were to combine and reload all their baggage, doubling up with their neighbors if necessary for the balance of the journey into camp. Man Chief and White Eagle, the first to be ready, rode off a little distance to await the others. The scout now rode all along the line telling all the hunters to get their horses and go where Man Chief and White Eagle were waiting to start.

As the scout turned back to rejoin the waiting chiefs, an old doctor of the Asking-for-Meat Band began to go among the people to perform a pantomime of sympathetic magic. He followed the path that the scout had taken and, impersonating a buffalo, he went in a trot with his arms flexed at his sides, chanting:

Now you are going to trot
Buffalo who are killed falling.

As he went among the people of each of the four bands, he sang his song each time. The children would try to trip him and make him fall down. When the boy Otter tried this, the old man asked, "Have you any tobacco to give me?" The boy shamefacedly answered no, but the old man fell down for him anyway.

Man Chief had appointed his prophet or "hand waver" who was to make the incantation to the powers as the hunters were poised ready to make the attack on the herd. Now this man was holding back, reluctant to ride out to the hunting grounds, worrying whether his luck would be good. Finally he joined the hunters, as they were in a hurry to get started. Then Man Chief called out, "Now we're going ahead!" and with White Eagle he started off a little ahead while the others followed in a bunch. They all galloped their horses as they hurried on. The scout went on ahead to guide them to the place. As soon as they got in sight, the head scout signaled with his blanket from the hill where he was stationed. If he threw his blanket up leisurely and caught it, there was no hurry, but if he threw it up and pulled it down quickly to his left, they had to hurry because the buffalo would be close and coming on.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

25

THE FIRST MAIN HUNT EPISODE

000

Beginning the Attack—the Intricacies of the Hunting Process—the Butchering and Return of Meat to Camp—Recounting of Stories

*224 THE SERIES OF STEPS before the charge on the herd was always the same as that described above for the "Chiefs' Herd." The head scout, coming a little way below the top of the hill, signaled with his blanket how the herd was disposed on the other side. The scout continued down the hill about half way, while the main chiefs rode up to meet him and hold a further consultation about the matter. He first spoke directly to the chief in charge of the hunt episode—in this case Man Chief. The other chiefs stood by, holding their horses, impatiently resting their heads in their hands, until they would be told the message. The crowd of hunters lined up below was also impatient and everyone was saying, "Softly, softly."

Man Chief told the other chiefs their plan and each motioned to his band in the line below. They went back to their line as soon as possible, as the buffalo in this instance were very close and they had to try to keep their hunters in order. The hand-waver or prophet had not yet
• [792] arrived; he was coming on slowly, having been held back by worry over his responsibility. The Skidi hunters were saying, "Why do we have to wait for him? We could all be hand wavers!" But finally the old man arrived and knelt down facing the hill, making his prayers, calling upon the powers and saying that they should try to get the whole herd, although in this instance it was clearly not possible. The head scout stood holding his horse in readiness to join the attack as soon as he was able to notify Man Chief that the incantation was over.

Man Chief now signaled the waiting hunters below, motioning how they would attack. In effect his motions stated: "Any of you want to go

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

White Woman and Victory Call to eat, one for No Corn and Horse Rider to eat together, and one for herself and her grandson, Otter.

When they got to the top of the hills eight miles west of Genoa they could sight the school house. Everyone called out, "There it is—*kax-karit-pahat*" (house-stone-red). It was red brick. Along the north and south side of the Loup is a deep valley and from the hills on either side of the river, one could see a considerable distance.

No one could camp anywhere near the earth lodge village itself. It was infested with fleas. They camped in the bottomlands within reach of their fields where they stayed for three weeks while they treated the crops and cleaned out the earth lodge so that it became habitable. In the open, they could more readily dispose of the husks, cobs, and other wastes that resulted from processing the crops. The Stay-at-Homes came along to meet them starting out from near Columbus 22 miles away and following northwestward along the Loup River. "Here come the Kakusu, the Stay-at-Homes," everyone would call out as they approached.

There was one more item of formal business that they had to attend to before they could get down to the activities of the harvest. To his tent, White Eagle called representatives of each of the four villages and the five old priests. In White Eagle's tent and in his charge at all times had been *taxpiku*, the holy man, who symbolized the luck of the whole tribe on the hunt. It was during the spring, when they had the ceremony of the Young Corn, *Kurahus*, that he was charged with this holy office. He was a man of exemplary character who was favored by the supernatural powers through the generous offerings he had made to their ceremonies. He had to keep his buffalo robe wrapped around him at all times. There was an absolute taboo against his bathing. He was not allowed to cut his fingernails or comb his hair. The other old men went along, one or the other of them staying alongside all during the hunt. His food was fed to him in a special bowl and he was always served first, for it was recognized that he was under a severe strain. Should he take a bath or his feet touch water, there would be severe thunderstorms. It was at this ceremony that he was praised for his courage and diligence and dismissed from his office. Now he was able to laugh and joke. "Oh my, I'm lousy," he said, "and my feet stink!" He tossed off his blanket and ran down to the creek to take a bath as soon as he could. He was no longer an official and no longer needed to be on his dignity.

They still had one more holy man, *taxpiku*, who was holding in the luck of the crops. He had been appointed early in the spring when they distributed the first seeds of the sacred corn. He would not be released until after the harvest. This man had been appointed when the Young Mother Corn was installed, and carried through the summer buffalo hunt and was then dismissed. These were men who had proved themselves devoted to the supernatural powers by their offerings to the sa-

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

cred bundle ceremonies, and for them the success of the venture was a token of the favor they enjoyed with the powers above. 792

In his closing speech in the council tent, White Eagle had thanked his chiefs, braves and young men of the tribe who had helped him in every way to get all the dry meat that they now all had. For, he said, the horses were all heavily laden and every old man and old woman had some meat too. He spoke of the fact that they should now look to the future tasks that were ahead—their crops of corn beans and squash that they had left growing in their gardens and would harvest and preserve. There was no delay when they got to the village in getting to work on the drying and processing of the crop for storage. The star Canopus had risen in the southern sky and the harvest month of September was upon them. The Pawnee felt himself fortunate that by his work he could ensure himself so many of the good things of life. 622 537 221 [821]